/297 cont./

122 114 Luis Mattioli, Dionisio Polvorini, Juan Nicolai, and Honorato Catinari, who backed me up on various occasions. The Reverend Father Enrique Biagini did me a service for which I was very grateful by committing me to the care of all the missionaries of the Chaco.

The prefect of Tarija, Colonel Nuñez del Prado, facilitated my trip /298/ by giving me a safe-conduct which was particularly useful to me in dealing with the authorities of eastern Bolivia. This man, courteous and intelligent, has just died on the battle-field. I wish to salute his memory with gratitude.

My compatriots Messrs. Burry helped me during my whole trip and rendered invaluable services which I remember gratefully, as well as the important aid given me by Messrs. Attié of Tarija.

I received cordial hospitality from Mr. Bonardi of Nancarwinza and from Mr. Vicente Constantini, whom I thank here.

Mr. Alberto Torrejón of Ibopeyti showed himself to be a host full of intelligence, and his intervention on my behalf with the Indians was very useful to me.

114 123 I should show myself ungrateful and unjust if I did not here express all I owe to the Indians themselves, whose reception, once the first mistrust was dissipated, was always so cordial, so generous. Here I should like to cite the name of my old friend, Captain Karnapadyú, of Carurutí, who was a courteous and kind friend to me and who made my stay in the Caipipendí valley so pleasant. Some day may I come back to my Chiriguano friends with mules loaded with knives, cloth, and beads, and thus fulfill the wishes they expressed so often to me.

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum saccharíferum) (1):

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane:
Melons:
Watermelons (sandía):
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.):
Fig trees:
Orange trees (in the missions).

[199] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pétĭ), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its [276] cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not [123] great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among
255 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the
824 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made
[198] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6).

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

[Fig 6 appears on P. 69 - Analyst]

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Cararutí, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very

249 409 799 142 291

Fig 7 Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission. (Photo. A. M.)

241 115 [123] touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Cararutí. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and [35] [417] thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, That is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps.

[Text continues on p. 74]

/334 cont./

Fermented Beverages

293

Anyone who has traveled among the Chiriguano or the Chané has learned to prize corn beer, or kĭwi. Few moments in the course of my expedition have left me more pleasant memories than the ones when, tired by a long stage, I would sit down in front of a hut and receive from the hands of the wife of the "captain" a calabash full of this liquid, slightly sharp and a little granular, which quenches thirst and allays hunger. The day when the Chiriguano stop making kĭwi will be a sign that they have disappeared from the face of the earth, and perhaps this delicious drink will survive them as a creole speciality in which good nationalists will take pride.

[122] [123]

Father Corrado (p. 43) once heard from the mouth of a Chiriguano an admirable definition of the role of kĭwi in the life of an Indian: "It is our father and our mother," said he. Indeed, it is the father of joy, the sign of plenty, the companion of the most beautiful moments of existence as well as the most tragic ones. It has within it a mysterious and mystic force which penetrates the individual, exalts him, and protects him against supernatural dangers. All festivals are reduced, in their essential part, to the consumption of kĭwi; no collective enterprise is conceivable without their first drinking it from full jars (1). From birth to death, all that affects the

293 726

1. Even in the 18th century the Chiriguano, like the ancient Tupinambá, did not undertake any expedition of war without having celebrated a caouin or a vin /wine/, to express ourselves like the old French chroniclers: /a passage of poetry in Spanish from Barco Centenera, p. 262, is omitted in the translation/.

When the Chiriguano of Parapití and Caipipendí rose up in 1799, before the revolt they held great drinking festivals, during the course of which they decided on the plan of operations (Corrado, p. 254).

/304 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kãwi has in it does not take away its secular character: and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [594] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [596] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed
293 /Plate XIV appears here/ /305/ for kãwi, and my old friend
[423] Kernapadyũ did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Kernapadyũ was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Caruruti, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).
529 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up
273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women,
273 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking.
[412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not
[413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse: an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [416] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

273
524

/269 cont./

De Molles, y de murta bien sirado.
Seguro que bebian casi arroba.
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize red of algarroba.
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked.
It is certain that they drank almost
an arroba.
The measure which was given to each
one./

273
524
596
[123]
[114]

Kîwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. The kîwi is brought in vessels shaped like bells, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

[954]

A second vessel, brimming over with kîwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kîwi.

In Museum--166 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/196 cons./

Fig. 45. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the <u>roldería</u> of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII one can see gathered to-
126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached
several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
123 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
122 of 12, Consito, two young men, Asensio and José Miguel, and
115
532

524

Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

123
122
115 a girl, Iwawasei, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
532 of my album with all kinds of sketches.

Consito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled two pages (Plate XCI, 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII, 2, 4; Plate
115 XCIII, 1, 3, 10). Asensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
123 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
126 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary
[322] activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then

[See pp 355-359-- Analyst]

115 /476 cont./
123 became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musi-
122 cal instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first
[522] sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes
[463] without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects: and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival,
[532] and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/.
122 5, 7.. and Plate XCII /see p.356 /. 3, 6) incised his figures
532 exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their clearness.

José Miguel (see Plate XCI. 8; Plate XCII. 1. 5. 7. 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /. 2. 4. 6. 8. 11. 12), whom Asensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking
[177] in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII. 7. 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII. 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several
126 feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend
532 themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: A.Kuaá "I Can't do it, I don't know how."

In Métraux--302 E-5 (1929) 1930 MP10 Chiriguano MP10

/477 cont./

000
123
132
122
113
532

laughter: Aikuaã "I can't do it, I don't know how." Only one, a girl, Inawaiti, allowed herself to be persuaded by the promise of a spool of thread. Her awkwardness was not feigned, as I was able to see from the beginning, seeing the embarrassed air with which she took the pencil. Once ready to draw, inspiration was suddenly lacking. She stopped short until I had penned out a vessel to her to copy. Since her confusion only grew greater, she asked Cuquito, the small boy who made my first drawings, to help her. He drew the vessel on Plate XCII, 10, which she began conscientiously to reproduce in series. I protested, and then she made me a house and on this house sketched a man and a child, then a woman (Plate XCI, 3 and XCII, 7). I am not very sure that all the drawings she told me she had made were hers, for when my attention was diverted by a visit, she had Cuquito secretly help her.

532
171

The drawings the Chiriguano executed for my sake recall not only those of our children but approximate appreciably those which have been collected in various regions of South America, notably among the tribes of the Negro River (Koch-Grünberg, 1); the Taulipang and the Makuĉi (Koch-Grünberg, 3, Plates 28-32, pp. 129-161); the Indians of the upper Xingú (Steinen, 2, Plates III-IV), (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 245-247, pp. 298-299); the Chorotí and the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 2, Figs. 63-66, pp. 130-132); the Kaingúa (Ambrosetti, 2, Plates I-III, pp. 674-682), etc.

There could be no question of making a comparative study of these drawings, so uniform is their style. The only details which are worth being brought together are those denoting similar psychological characteristics and yet these common traits are not characteristic of a primitive mentality. I should scarcely have to point out the fact that in drawing a woman, a Kaingúa Indian proceeded exactly as did two of my Chiriguano artists (Plate XCI, 3 and 7): he began by representing the woman naked, then dressed her.

538 /end cont./

Figure 11. Guenoco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A)= blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

956 178 Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village.

[123] Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disappeared. [122] I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then 95 called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with [824] a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call sandía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiold (5, p. 44,

/136 cont./

775 If one asks the Indians about this point, they answer that a woman has seen in her dreams the shade of her departed husband, or he that of his departed wife, and both, those of their children, relatives, or grandparents, for all of whom they have an excessive fondness, and it can be deduced from this that in the Chiriguano race there is a confused belief in the immortality of the soul, since, with regard to the body, they themselves can see that everything turns to dust and earth.

775 776 192 Some explorers and travelers have set down in writing that they call the soul Afia; the Indians also confirm these accounts, but they do not give the name Afia indiscriminately to all souls, but only to those which had a very bad death, such as suicide, and those who took a long time to die. But in no case would a mother call her child's soul Afia, nor would relatives use this term for their departed, because Afia means demon or evil spirit (1).

● [75] 1. At times I have been called to pray near a person gravely ill, so that he might die sooner and thus be free of that spirit, which, according to them, is bad; but I made it understood to them that I would neither pray as they wished nor was the sick person evil because of taking a long time to die.

The true enemy of the Tupa is the Afia, demon, but /135/ this latter word only means demon through use, just as iñ by the same use means soul. The Indians today give both terms the meaning that I attribute to them, and I still lean on the authority of Father Corrado, who in his catechism defines Afia as demon, Anihoata, place of demons, Afia imma, the demon's companion, yaeñgüe, our soul, iñgüe, their soul. The Indians have great 775 fear of a demon and seem possessed by demons; they say that they 776 frequently see them at night, and when they have to walk in the shadows, they carry a burning firebrand (1).

[92] 1. Afia means phantom in Chiriguano; iñ means shade, cuarasi iñ pe, in the shade. Missionaries should make them understand the true meaning.

4: Nino--194 M-2 (1893-1911) .917 S710 Chiriguano 19.0

/135 cont./

775
776

because the Indians know that the evil spirit is a phantom, and the soul of the dead a shade: chemembi if ahecha. I saw the shade of my son, says the mother.

776
784
[123]

One night while the smallpox epidemic was going on, they called me, being the Convenor of the Santa Rosa Mission, to catechize a poor and miserable old woman who was some two and a half kilometers from the town. Among those who accompanied me there was one whom I well remember, who is still alive and whose name I shall not forget, who carried a burning firebrand, which was not necessary for me because the night was quite bright. When he was asked the reason for such a thing, he answered: Afia afiguae vaena, to chase away the demons. They all do this especially when they are alone, which is rare, because the Chiriguano only rarely goes out at night because of his fear of evil spirits.

776
174
191

From this it can be deduced with considerable probability that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay. There were in that region, in past centuries, the missionaries of the Company of Jesus, who are famous for their apostolic work and for the suffering which they experienced in the reduction of the region. Because of the sorcerers some of them even suffered martyrdom.

I had the opportunity to read a brief history, which I have mentioned above, written by Father Antonio of this same company, and I learned that the Guaraní believe in sorcerers and saw the Afia, demon, at all times and places. It destroyed the wheatfields and other plantings, did damage in their houses and burned them. Even the Guaraní called the bad spirit Afia which the said missionary applies to the demon (?).

2. A work written in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay.

/139 cont./

Belief in the Future Life

[995] This belief has suffered many more alterations than the previous one; nevertheless it reveals that even under the rude and ignorant nature of the poor Indian and the unfortunate Chiriguano there is in force the idea of the great philosopher, non omnis moriar, which so many materialists would have end with material life, doubtless in order to drown apparently the remorse of the gnawing worm which from time to time appears and unintentionally reminds us of the perversities which have been perpetrated (1).

[771] 1. It is difficult for the Chiriguano to understand spiritual matters, for which reason his ideas concerning the future life are purely material. Without revelation this dogma of faith is not understood.

When the soul of a Chiriguano leaves the body, it does not die. All, without realizing it or even suspecting it, have this idea of the immortality of the soul. Mourning and sentiments of grief, burial, and things that they put in the coffin when someone dies, with which I shall deal later, are related to this. Should someone ask them about this, they would answer, "Mahanu" How will it be? I don't know. In spite of this ignorance, in order to express their thoughts regarding the soul and its immortality, they admit that there are three places for souls: Tunparenta, Iboca, and Cuarasigüi, Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell.

[123] [191] I am going to deal with the three, rectifying what concerns Iboca, which belief I was acquainted with from the beginning of residence among the race and an account of which can be found in my little Nene, which was printed in the year 1905 to help Chiriguano children learn the Spanish or Castilian language.

The Tunparenta is literally the place of God, or his dwelling place, as the añarenta is the dwelling place of the devil. I have already noted the fact that Tunpa is the source of good, of all virtue, of everything good: Tecocavi. With this idea that he has of God, the Chiriguano naturally concludes that God only

/266 cont./

574 576 [94] The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 576 622 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

123 [622]

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

797 797

2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P.362]

C
123
439

/151 cont./

In Tihuipa I opened a regular /152/ small produce store for a few days. Indian men and women, especially the latter, crowded around the shop counter. It was a

Ce
142
291

Fig. 76. Chané Indian.
Rio Parapiti.

C
123
439
[439]

peculiar shop. If an Indian woman came there with money in order to buy something, she was politely sent away by the clerk, but if she came with an attractive old clay vessel, she became the happy owner of corals, fire-red ribbons,

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout.

There are always two villages in these mission stations, one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The woodland, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monotonous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the /153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly. Ce 124 197 123 Ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocône. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. 195 197 Ce [533] C

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered. 114 126 C [123]

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. C 797 164 [114] 133 [312] C [464] C [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up. C [576]

/159 cont./
In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities.

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either.

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant.

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things.

/170 cont./

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten.

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos.

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it.

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains.

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians.

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency.

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit.

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night.

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all.

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites.

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment), /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule,

C 524

/197 cont./

I saw the "parama" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay shards. The button is supposed to be struck down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

C Ce 524

The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "mou-mou" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

Ce 524

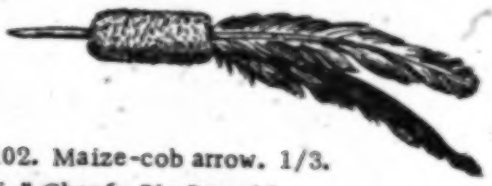

Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow. 1/3.
"Sôuki." Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/3. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

800

Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee [123]

Ee 85 [797] [177]

Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white man learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguarâti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoize and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

6: Nordenskiöld--101 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/250/

Chapter Seventeen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Legend and Religion

Once there was an old Indian who used to sit beside the fire in his hut in the evening and tell about olden days, about animals, human beings, and spirits. The young people gathered around him, listening. The old man went on and on telling stories. He told them with his mouth, eyes, hands, and feet.

One young person after another, however, soon left the circle of listeners and lay down to sleep. Finally the old man was sitting alone beside the dying fire and talking to himself about the adventures of the fox-god and the armadillo-god.

To me this old man represents the old traditions, a culture that is disappearing. The young people listen for a while, but it is soon too much for them. They have new interests. They have begun dancing the great dance which the Christians call civilization, where the dancing is usually around the golden calf.

I also sat there as a listener and had the legends explained to me. I believe the old people liked me because I showed such great interest in their old recollections. If I now retell them, I hope the reader will be lenient with me and my old friends, with me because I cannot tell a story as well as the old people, and with the old people because they love everything that is a bit frivolous.

/251/ The legends give us insight into the Indians' ideas of the life beyond and of the spirits. In part through them and in part through the explanations which the Indians have given me, we can understand their religion. We shall hear about the destruction of the world and the theft of fire, about the visit in the realm of the dead, and, above all, about the adventures of the spirits; we shall hear how they deceived one another and human beings, hear of their combats and their vices.